

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 IO-14 SSO-00 CCO-00 NSCE-00

INRE-00 USSS-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03

SS-20 ACDA-19 MC-02 AF-10 ARA-16 EA-11 DRC-01 /173 W

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FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4744

INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION USUN

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L PARIS 29259

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, XF, FR

SUBJECT/ MIDDLE EAST ASPECTS OF JOBERT'S NOVEMBER 12 SPEECH

DEPARTMENT PASS MINIMIZE POSTS AS APPROPRIATE

BRUSSELS FOR SISCO

BEGIN SUMMARY: MIDDLE EAST SECTION OF JOBERT'S NOV 12 STATEMENT IS LESS AN OBJECTIVE ANALYSIS OF ME DEVELOPMENTS THAN AN ATTEMPT TO DEMONSTRATE HIS CENTRAL THESIS, THAT THE SUPERPOSER CONDOMINIUM OPERATES TO THE DETRIMENT OF OTHER NATIONS AND AREAS. END SUMMARY.

1. FOREIGN MINISTER JOBERT OPENED SUBSTANTIVE PORTION OF HIS NOVEMBER 12 STATEMENT WITH SECTION ON MIDDLE EAST (SEE SEPTTEL FOR OTHER SECTION). HE PRAISED CEASEFIRE WHICH WAS "DIFFICULT TO OBTAIN" AND "MUST BE WELCOMED BY US WITH FAVOR AND ENCOURAGED WITHOUT
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HESITATION."

2.FROM OUTSET, HIS ANALYSIS OF ME EVENTS WAS MADE AGAINST BACKGROUND OF SUPERPOWERS' AGREEMENT OF JUNE 22 1973 WHEN, ACCORDING TO JOBERT, US AND USSR "COMMITTED THEMSELVES TO A PROCESS OF BALANCE AND ARBITRATION WHICH FAR OUTREACHES THEIR OWN TERRITORIES." THIS THEME OF "CONDOMINIUM" RUNS THROUGHOUT ME SECTION OF JOBERT'S STATEMENT. JOBERT SAID SUPERPOWERS HAD FIRST THOUGHT THAT THEY COULD KEEP ME SITUATION UNDER CONTROL. SUPERPOWERS HADNOT EVEN UNDERSTOOD THE DANGER OF WAR IN THE ME, WHICH FOR FRANCE HAD BEEN PREDICTABLE.

3. JOBERT SAID ONCE ME WAR BROKE OUT, SUPERPOWERS, WHO HAD PREVIOUSLY NOURISHED THIS CONFLICT BY THEIR ARMS DELIVERIES, MAINTAINED IT BY MASSIVE DELIVERIES. THESE DELIVERIES CONTINUED UNTIL SITUATION ON GROUND PERMITTED ALL BELLIGERANT PARTIES TO BELIEVE THAT THE CONFLICT HAD GIVEN THEM SATISFACTION. SUPERPOWERS THEN REACHED AGREEMENT WHICH THEY HAD UNSC APPROVE, AS THEY DID WITH THE SUCCEEDING UNSC RESOLUTION. JOBERT ADDED THAT UNSC'S IMPOTENCE IN CARRYING OUT ITS UN CHARTER FUNCTIONS WAS "TACITLY ORGANIZED BY THE TWO POWERS, WHICH RESERVED THE RIGHT TO SETTLE THIS AFFAIR BETWEEN THEMSELVES."

4. JOBERT CHARACTERIZED CEASEFIRE AS UNCERAIN AND UNEF AS FRAGILE. HE WONDERED WHAT WAS HAPPENING ABOUT IMPLEMENTATION OF UNSC RES 242:"WHERE ARE THE CONVERSATIONS? WHAT ARE THE PROCEDURES, AND GUARANTEES? THEY ARE STILL WEEKS AWAY AND YET THE EXCLUSIVITY OF THE TWO GREAT POWERS IS CERTAIN -- WITH THE CONSEQUENCES WHICH EVERYONE CAN SEE." JOBERT THEN REVIEWS WHAT THE CONSEQUENCES ARE, FIRST FOR THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. IN ABSENCE OF SUPERPOWERS' ACCORD NEITHER UN NOR UNSC HAD BEEN ABLE TO ACT BETWEEN OCTOBER 6 AND 2. JOBERT COMPLAINED THAT UNSC RES 340 DELIBERATELY EXCLUDES FRANCE, UK AND CHINA FROM PLAYING THEIR PART IN SHORING-UP THE CEASEFIRE. AT THIS POINT HE STRONGLY INSISTED THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WOULD HAVE TO BE INVOLVED AT LEAST TO THE EXTENT OF GIVING ITS BENE-CONFIDENTIAL

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DICTION TO WHATEVER SETTLEMENT IS WORKED OUT; OTHERWISE, HE DOUBTED WHETHER SETTLEMENT COULD SURVIVE.

5. JOBERT SIMILARLY ASSESSED CONSEQUENCES FOR THE BELLIGERENTS RESULTING FROM SUPERPOWER EXCLUSIVITY. THIS SECTION INCLUDED RECITATION OF ELEMENTS OF UNSC RES 242, WHICH HE SAID SHOULD BE IMPLEMENTED IN ALL ITS PARTS. THIS WAS OCCASION FOR JOBERT TO INSIST

THAT DEMILITARIZED ZONES MUST BE OCCUPIED BY UN PEACE-KEEPING FORCES, UNDER AUTHORITY OF UNSC AND INCLUDING ITS PERMANENT MEMBERS "WHOSE PRESENCE WOULD FURTHER AFFIRM THE EFFICACY OF THE GUARANTEES." HE EMPHASIZED THAT ONLY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, ACTING THROUGH UNSC, COULD GIVE ISRAEL AND THE ARAB STATES THE "SECURE AND RECOGNIZED BOUNDARIES" REQUIRED UNDER UNSC RESOLUTION 242, BY ESTABLISHING A SOLID FRAMEWORK OF RECIPROCAL PEACE ACCORDS AND PRECISE INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEES.

6. JOBERT STRONGLY CRITICIZED THE SUPERPOWER CONDOMINIUM FOR HAVING EXCLUDED FRANCE AND EUROPE WHILE DEALING WITH THE ME CRISIS. HE SAID THIS WAS AN ERROR BECAUSE ME SOLUTION WILL BE DIFFICULT TO FIND AND THE WORK FRANCE AND EUROPE HAVE ALREADY DONE ON THIS ISSUE MIGHT BE OF DECISIVE ASSISTANCE. THEIR EXCLUSION WAS ALSO CHARACTERIZED AS MALADROIT BY JOBERT, BECAUSE EUROPE WOULDN'T AGREE TO BE "TREATED AS A NON-PERSON" IN A SITUATION WHICH INTER ALIA DIRECTLY INVOLVES ITS ENERGY SOURCES. JOBERT CONCLUDES THE ME SECTION OF HIS STATEMENT WITH PREDICTION THAT EUROPE, "HUMILIATED" AND DRAWING THE CONSEQUENCES OF SUPERPOWER ACTION IN THE ME, WILL FINALLY UNITE.

7. COMMENT: JOBERT'S STATEMENT REVEALS NO CHANGES IN GOF POLICY ON ME. IT CAN HARDLY BE CONSIDERED AN OBJECTIVE ANALYSIS, HOWEVER, SINCE ME DEVELOPMENTS ARE EXAMINED ENTIRELY THROUGH THE FRENCH VIEW OF "SUPERPOWER COMPLICITY." THE EVENTS ARE USED TO DEMONSTRATE JOBERT'S CENTRAL THESIS, THAT US-SOVIET CONDOMINIUM OPERATES TO THE DETRIMENT OF OTHER NATIONS AND AREAS. THIS IS FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF JOBERT'S THEME IN HIS OCTOBER 17 PARLIAMENTARY STATE-CONFIDENTIAL

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MENT ON THE MIDDLE EAST AT THAT TIME, JOBERT WAS CONTENT TO STAKE OUT A NEUTRAL POSITION EQUIDISTANT FROM THOSE OF THE US AND THE SOVIET UNION. NOW HE BRANDS THE SUPERPOWERS, ACTING TOGETHER, AS RESPONSIBLE FOR KEY ERRORS OF OMISSION AND COMMISSION IN THE ME CRISIS. JOBERT IS ALSO SAYING THAT FRANCE INSISTS ON A CENTRAL ROLE FOR UNSC PERMANENT MEMBERS (I.E. FRANCE) IN OVERALL SETTLEMENT OF ME CONFLICT. GDS IRWIN

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED.

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